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evidence for a system of interclan marriage. Numbers are used to indicate clans of the Eagle moiety.

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN CLANS[1]

Eagle Clans.	Number of Marriages Recorded.	Number of Clans of Opposite Moiety into which Marriages were made.	Highest Number and Per Cent. of Marriages into any one Clan.	
			Number.	Per Cent.
1	40	12	7	0.17
2	95	14	31	0.32
3	16	9	7	0.41
4	64	12	20	0.31
5	50	10	22	0.44
6	46	14	10	0.21
7	42	12	15	0.35

From the above table it can be seen that one clan never makes even fifty per cent of its marriages into any one given clan of the opposite moiety, and that there cannot therefore be said to be any class system of interclan marriages. Percentages, however, such as forty-one and forty-four, would seem to indicate some tendency for certain clans to intermarry. But a number of incidental factors, such as neighbouring residence of the two clans, might account for the tendency.

It is quite customary for two brothers to marry two sisters, and it also happens fairly frequently that a man marries his brother's widow.

The prohibited marriages are: (1) between any two members of the same moiety; (2) between cross-cousins: the *korup* relationship, a man and his mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter; (3) between parent and child. The first prohibited marriage thus includes

[1] A more detailed table of interclan marriages giving fuller data is recorded in the Appendix II.

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582 835 brothers and sisters, real and classificatory, and the breaking of this taboo is the very worse crime of the society. The taboo applies just as strongly to sexual intercourse as to marriage. Breaking the sex taboo between cross-cousins and between parents and children, while considered a great social crime, is not quite so bad as breaking the brother-sister taboo. In the past the penalty for breaking any of [684] the incest taboos was death; the guilty individuals were killed by members of their own clan. No such breach occurred during my visit, and since killing is now forbidden by the Mandated Government, it is difficult to say what the punishment would be to-day. There are no tales of any incestuous marriages, but tales of incestuous intercourse with the punishment of the offenders are told. Since we know only about the few who have been caught, it is difficult to estimate even generally how frequently the taboo is broken. But it is quite evident that most of the natives have a horror of incest. Even a dream of it makes them thoroughly ashamed.

605 The *korup* relationship between cross-cousins of opposite sex (see term 14) is the one surrounded with the most ritual prohibitions. Personal names must never be mentioned, and instead the term *korup* is used when one member of the relationship wishes to refer to the other. Between children the term the diminutive, *koko*, is used. The two *korup* relatives do not go near each other. If it would be absolutely necessary that they speak, it would be done briefly, at a distance of about twenty-five feet. Food is exchanged [431] between them, but always through the medium of a third person.

582 606 A man's preferred mate is this same *korup's* daughter, whom he calls by the term *-tumbo* (wife, see term 11), whether he marries her or not. If he marries another woman who does not stand in the relationship of a cross-cousin's daughter, her mother becomes [illegible] to him. Thus mother-in-law is

586 Lesu. They were likewise divorced because, according to
587 his story, she did not like Lesu and wanted to return to her own place.

Lumaeris continued his matrimonial adventures, and now married Bebele from a village about twenty miles from Lesu. They lived together at Lesu for many years until she died. Then he married Murit, who comes from a bush village. She is still living and the two are still married, but she is old, with one eye gone, and unable to work. So recently (a few years ago) he took an additional wife, Kuti, who is both young and attractive. This is his matrimonial status at the present time. Of his ten wives, two died and two are still living with him. The remaining six either left him or refused to leave their own village or island when Lumaeris wanted to wander about. In most of his marriages Lumaeris was unwilling to follow the custom of matrilocal residence. Whether there were other reasons, physical or psychological, which might account for his seeming inability to hold a woman for any length of time I do not know.

SEX TABOOS

835 Up to now, in discussing sexual life, we have stressed what people do rather than what they are forbidden to do. A study of the prohibitions or taboos is likewise necessary to an understanding of people's actions. First there is the most important rule of exogamy. No Eagle man may marry or have relationship with a woman of his own moiety, and the same applies to men and women of the Hawk moiety. So to each man half the women of the society are forbidden, and to each woman half the men are forbidden. It is merely an extension of the brother-sister taboo applied to all
835 members of the same moiety. Infringement of this taboo is
684 the worse crime of the society, and the punishment is death.
762 Usually the two people who break this taboo commit suicide,

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the most common form of which is throwing oneself from a tree. If they did not do this they would be killed by their own clan relatives. Of those people who break the taboo and are not found out, we can, of course, know nothing.

Other taboos cannot compete in seriousness with incest, and are mainly concerned with occupations or with certain periods in the life of the individual. Most of the sexual occupational taboos have already been mentioned in the discussion of economic structure, and are merely summarized here.

Taboos observed before fishing, hunting wild pig, going to war: a man may not have intercourse the night before, and if it is a shark-fishing expedition continence must be observed for a month in advance. Also, if possible, he should not eat with a pregnant woman or look at menstrual blood. If his wife is pregnant he may not go on any of these expeditions.

Making of *tsera* (not a Lesu occupation): a man engaged in this task must have no sexual relations with anyone while making the currency.

There are no sex taboos connected with house-building, making a canoe, or any other work.

Taboo connected with pregnancy and infancy:

1. During pregnancy the woman must be continent.
2. During the infancy of the child (suckling period) both the mother and her husband must be continent.

The breaking of these taboos brings its own punishment: bad luck and no success in the occupations, and illness for the child in the case of taboo connected with pregnancy and infancy; but breaking the incest taboo is considered a crime against society, which, through the agency of the clan, punishes violators. Other taboos concern only the individuals who violate them. If they are broken, the individual breaking them will have bad luck in his occupation, or some ill fortune will befall him. There is a direct relationship

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834 between keeping the taboos and success, and they are functionally similar to magic. Both are designed to bring success. If not practised there will be no success. They may be called personal or individual taboos, i.e. only the individual is directly concerned. There is, of course, always the force of social prestige acting to maintain all customs, but in the case of the individual taboo, it is the bad luck supposed to follow their violation which is the main force in keeping them functioning. If a man should break the taboo on intercourse before he went shark-fishing, neither he nor anyone else would have confidence in his fishing, but he would not be punished otherwise. But should he break [684] the incest taboo, then he cannot live. He has done an irretrievable social wrong, and society will not tolerate his presence. Some taboos and customs not connected with sex, but more related to economic structure, such as the law of reciprocity, the custom of never asking for a return gift, etc., are likewise in the social class. The punishment for infringing one of these customs is complete loss of social prestige. This is in the same class with death punishment, only in a lesser degree.

DREAMS

154 It is interesting to see how the taboos are reflected in 835 dreams, myths, and obscene expressions. I was given to understand that incestuous dreams are fairly common. A man will frequently dream of having intercourse with a woman of his own moiety, sometimes it will be his real sister, his mother, his cross-cousin, and at other times some unrelated woman of his moiety. If a man has such a dream he is much ashamed of it, and rarely talks about it. Only those informants with whom I was very friendly, and who gave me their full confidence, would admit that they ever had these incestuous dreams. When they did talk about them their shame was clearly expressed in their attitude

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and voice. Thus, a man in a low voice and with his eyes cast on the ground (an unusual attitude) would haltingly tell me that he dreamed of having relations with a woman of his own moiety. Other people whom I did not know so well would not admit having such a dream themselves, but said that other people had them. The dream appears to be a clear-cut wish fulfilment. Other dreams of which they are much ashamed are those of intercourse with a pig, or a dog, although the latter does not occur nearly as often as the former. Every man and woman with whom I discussed the subject earnestly said that people never had intercourse with pigs or dogs. There was not a single exception to this statement.[1] The same informants said that intercourse between members of the same moiety was forbidden, but that occasionally it did happen. It is therefore rather interesting that dreams of relationship with pigs and dogs should be put into the same class as incestuous ones, in that they are both considered shameful. A native is ashamed of even dreaming of a pig, even if intercourse is not in the dream.[2]

Other dreams which I was able to collect are as follows (unless otherwise indicated, the dream was collected from both men and women):

That a snake is wound around the dreamer's body and that

[1] However, I heard from other sources, which I was unable to check, that on another part of the island it was not unknown for people to have relations with pigs.

[2] I learned of incestuous dreams and the attitude toward them through informants, but I stumbled across the attitude toward dreams of pigs accidentally. I was frequently awakened at night by the grunts of pigs just outside my house. One morning I told a native friend that I thought I heard the pigs the night before, but I wasn't sure, that maybe I just dreamed that I heard them. At this she looked rather startled, lowered her voice, and said she would tell no one, and that it would be a secret between us. Interested and amused, I drew her on, and found that to dream of pigs was something of which to be ashamed. Other friends and informants soon supported this statement.

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but also to sincerely believe in it. This is one social pattern in which everyone seems to participate.

Kinship patterns of behaviour have always been supposed to be most rigid, but these, too, on close examination, reveal many variations, which appear to be based mainly on individual desires and temperamental differences. It happens but rarely that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter (the preferred marriage), but he does follow the pattern sufficiently to usually marry someone in the generation below him. But there are even exceptions to this. One man in Lesu married a woman in the generation above him—his mother's mother's brother's daughter, who is in the same generation as his mother. There are many reasons for the non-marriage of the cross-cousin's daughter. She may be married already; the parents of either her or the man may have arranged another betrothal very early in their infancy; or either the girl or the man may simply prefer another mate.

Again, there is the pattern of behaviour between a man and his sister which, among other things, does not permit a man to make sexual jokes about a woman in front of her brother. Yet, as has been described, the old man Towi is constantly doing just this, much to the disgust of others. Other natives, in talking about it, say that it is an unpleasant peculiarity of Towi's which they accept but cannot understand. He is a moderately important old man in his clan, but his love of what to the native would correspond to our obscenity detracts somewhat from his prestige. But he goes gaily on.

We know also from folk-tales and from stories about men who have lived recently that the incest taboo between members of the same moiety is occasionally broken. Individual desires thus sometimes break through the most rigid and the very strongest social pattern of behaviour, even though death is the penalty. Another kinship pattern is that